Who is the author of the translated text? The Swedish translation of Dinah Mulock's *A Woman's Thoughts about* Women[1]

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By discussing Sophie Leijonhufvud's Swedish translation (1861) of Dinah Mulock's *A Woman's Thoughts about Women* (1858), this article investigates how the agenda of the translator and editor may affect the target text, for instance by altering the implied reader and by introducing an additional authorial voice.

Keywords: translator's agenda, authorial voice, translation strategies, Dinah Mulock, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, Sophie Leijonhufvud, *Tidskrift för hemmet*

Partant d'une analyse de la traduction suédoise (1861), réalisée par Sophie Leijonhufvud, du livre de Dinah Mulock *A Woman's Thoughts about Women* (1858), cet article examine comment les objectifs du traducteur et de l'éditeur peuvent affecter le texte-cible, par exemple, en modifiant l'identité du lecteur implicite et en introduisant une nouvelle voix auctoriale.

Mots clés : objectifs du traducteur, voix auctoriale, strategies de traduction, Dinah Mulock, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, Sophie Leijonhufvud, *Tidskrift för hemmet*

This paper will discuss the role of authorial and editorial voices in the mediation of British social-reform texts to Swedish readers in the mid-nineteenth century. The text in focus, the Swedish translation of *A Woman's Thoughts about Women* (1858) by Dinah Mulock (Craik), foregrounds the question of authorship and editorship in translations and how texts change when the translator supplements the target text with her own authorial voice. Sherry Simon has shown how nineteenth-century women translators, such as Margaret Fuller and Madame de Staël, employed the means of translation for political purposes, and that translations became bricks in a "'nation-building' enterprise" in which foreign texts were used to develop and stimulate a debate in the translator's own countries.[2] The Swedish translation of Mulock's

A Woman's Thoughts about Women can be seen as such a building block employed by representatives of the early Swedish emancipation movement and also as a critical reading and interpretation of Mulock's text, aimed at a Swedish readership.

The title of Mulock's book, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, indicates that it displays a particular woman's notions of the general concept of womanhood. There is no reason to doubt that the original text consisted of Mulock's own opinions, and that the authorial "I" can be assumed to refer to Mulock herself. My concern here is what happens in translation: whose thoughts are conveyed to the reader of the translated text, and who is the "jag" [I] of the Swedish translation? Mulock's book title was translated, word for word, as *En qvinnas tankar rörande qvinnan*. However, the ideas presented as being those of the author in the target text, do not always match the ideas that are expressed in the source text. Some additions and adjustments penned by the translator concur with, and underline, the argument of the source text, whereas other passages of the target text in fact conflict with the source text's argument and intentions. In this article, I will investigate a number of strategies used by the translator to transfer Mulock's book to a Swedish context in order to make use of it in the Swedish emancipation debate. Special attention will be paid to the fact that the translator was also the co-editor and co-publisher of the translation.

Originally published in 1858, Mulock's book was translated into Swedish by Sophie Leijonhufvud (Adlersparre) and published under the patronage of the periodical *Tidskrift för hemmet* in 1861. This was the first periodical in Sweden with a specific focus on the position of women, and it had been founded by Sophie Leijonhufvud herself together with Rosalie Olivecrona in 1859.[3] In the early 1860s, the periodical made frequent use of contemporary British texts to facilitate the mediation of emancipatory ideas to Swedish readers.[4] Through summaries, translations and adaptations, a number of British writers, ranging from radicals to more conservative forces, were thus introduced to Swedish readers in order to advance a

debate about the so-called woman question in Sweden. The core of this debate concerned women's paid work and their position in society. Leijonhufvud and Olivecrona translated much of the British material themselves, both of them being experienced translators. As Swedish readers were not informed about the ideological span of the British writers presented to them, it can be assumed that the diversity of voices in the British woman question debate was homogenised in translation in order to serve the agenda of the translators and editors.

Research in the fields of gender and translation studies has demonstrated that translation work provided a possibility for nineteenth-century women to communicate their ideas.[5] Leijonhufvud's approach to translation work can serve as an illustration of this. In her youth, before becoming one of the leading figures in the Swedish emancipation movement, she had supported herself and her mother by translation work.[6] When Olivecrona many years later described her colleague's early life and work, she stressed that Leijonhufvud's

> intellectual gifts had pointed at something higher than the mechanics of translation work […] One of Sophie's most treasured dreams as a young woman had been to one day be able to publish a periodical of good translations […] where, possibly, one or two original pieces could be slipped in. However, the scorn for female literary activities and the fear of being called a "blue-stocking" were still so prevalent that she never dared to reveal these thoughts outside her intimate circle of family.[7]

The idea that one's own, original texts could be slipped into, or placed in conjunction with, translations points to an extended use of foreign material, which goes beyond the idea of translation as reproduction. Rather it suggests that Leijonhufvud early realised that she could use translation as a method to publish ideas which she harboured herself, and which would be difficult for her, as a woman, to publish under her own name.

Her desire to publish a periodical of translations should also be seen in relation to the influence exerted by foreign press and literature in Sweden at the time. *Tidskrift för hemmet*'s interest in text material from Britain followed a general trend; the British press exercised a strong influence on mid-nineteenth-century Swedish editors and publishers. In the 1830s, for instance, *Lördags-magasinet*, a Swedish copy of the *Penny Magazine* was published, and in

the fifties, the *London Illustrated News* inspired Swedish periodicals such as *Illustrerad tidning*.[8] In addition to the frequent translations and adaptations of foreign material in the periodical press, a large share of the Swedish book publication of fiction also consisted of translations. By the 1860s, English had surpassed French as the dominant language of translation among works of fiction.[9] In the second half of the 1860s, about 200 translated works of fiction were published, which roughly equals the number of Swedish-language prose works published within the same period.[10] Although no figures are available regarding mid-nineteenth-century translations of non-fictional works into Swedish, numerous British non-fictional texts were translated into Swedish within a few years after they had first been published. Among these were David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857; transl. 1859-1860), George Henry Lewes's *Physiology of Common Life* (1859; transl. 1859-1861), Florence Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing* (1859; transl. 1861), and John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1859; trans. 1865).

Mulock's *A Woman's Thoughts about Women* and its Swedish Translation

Dinah Mulock was a prolific and popular writer of didactic fiction. *John Halifax, Gentleman* (1856), her novel on self-improvement, was one of the most successful British novels of its time. She was read abroad as well. She was widely translated, and more than 30 of her books were republished for the European market in the Tauchnitz *Collection of British Authors* series.[11] In *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, a series of essays on various aspects of women's lives from youth to old age, Mulock specifically addressed the difficulties faced by women who had not been brought up and educated in a way that prepared them for life. One of her concerns was that women were not taught to value time and work in the same manner as men. Since Mulock argued that women ought to strive for self-dependence and sisterhood within the traditionally female sphere, Showalter defines her as "conservative,"[12] and Mitchell

positions Mulock's ideas regarding female employment "at the conservative edge of radical thought."[13]

Mulock's *Thoughts* were originally serialised in 1857 in *Chambers's Journal*, a weekly "mainly designed for the self-improving artisan,"[14] in which some of Mulock's stories had already been published in 1847.[15] In 1858, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women* was published in book form by Hurst and Blackett, who also published ten of Mulock's novels; *John Halifax, Gentleman* being an "outstanding and enduring success" of that publishing house.[16] Although described as conventional by contemporary critics, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women* met with fairly positive reviews in Britain. The *London Athenaeum*, for instance, contended that "[t]hese 'Thoughts' are mild and good and humane, – sensible, too, but verging on commonplace," and according to the *London Examiner*, it was "[a] *book of sound* counsel, – well written, true-hearted, and altogether practical."[17] An American edition soon followed, and in 1860, the book was republished by Tauchnitz. Within a few years, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women* was translated into several languages. Apart from the Swedish translation that will be discussed here, a Dutch version was published in 1860, a German one in 1861, and the book was translated into Danish in 1869.

Except for one novel (*Agatha's Husband* 1853; transl. in 1854) no book-length Swedish translation of Mulock's works was published prior to *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*. The publication history of the Swedish translation resembles that of the original text as both first met an audience via the periodical press. Leijonhufvud and Olivecrona used their periodical as a testing ground and a billboard for the translation project. Two chapters in translation were printed in *Tidskrift för hemmet* in 1860-61 before the full translation was published. The first translated chapter ("Lyckliga och olyckliga qvinnor"[18] [Happy and Unhappy Women]) was preceded by an introductory article, which encouraged readers to sign up as subscribers to help fund the publication of a translation of the entire book.[19] In 1861,

another chapter ("Verldsdamen" [Women of the World]) was published, together with a notice advertising that the book would soon be available "in every bookshop in the country."[20]

Tidskrift för hemmet's first references to Mulock do not reveal that her agenda was less radical than some of the other British writers discussed in that periodical. However, in between the two pre-publications, the editors of *Tidskrift för hemmet* seem to have become increasingly aware of Mulock's reputation as conservative. Whereas she was first introduced as an excellent judge of character in 1860,[21] *A Woman's Thoughts about Women* was discussed in a more self-justifying tone in the second pre-publication the following year, as the Swedish periodical then acknowledged that Mulock had been described as old-fashioned in England. Nevertheless, the Swedish editors argued, in spite of the criticism waged against the author in her own country, her ideas would still be new to Swedish readers.[22]

It can be assumed that Leijonhufvud based her translation on the Tauchnitz edition (identical text-wise to the Hurst and Blackett edition), as *Tidskrift för hemmet* twice referred to this Leipzig publishing company in connection with Mulock.[23] Both the Hurst and Blackett and the Tauchnitz title pages of *A Woman's Thoughts about Women* identify the writer as "the author of 'John Halifax, Gentleman', &c &c." The title page of the Swedish translation simply states that the book was written by "Miss Mulock." It is also acknowledged that the text had been adapted for Swedish readers and that it was being published by the editors of *Tidskrift för hemmet*. Readers of the source text were thus presented with a book expressing the thoughts of the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, whereas the Swedish translation was marketed not only as being written by this popular novelist, but also as a work that had been adapted to Swedish conditions by the editors of *Tidskrift för hemmet*. The Swedish book translation does not reveal the identity of the translator, but both translated chapters in *Tidskrift för hemmet* were signed "*L-d*," which was one of Leijonhufvud's signatures.

As Leijonhufvud – together with Olivecrona – formed the editorial board of the periodical, she was not only the translator, but also the co-editor and co-publisher of the Swedish edition. Leijonhufvud was thus in a position to use Mulock's text to promote the position of Swedish women. The idea of translating by way of adapting a text for the target culture ties in naturally with Leijonhufvud's wish to integrate her own agenda in her translations. Consequently, the translation conveys not only Mulock's ideas, but also the agenda of the Swedish translator and publisher. Although the editors' introduction to the translation project expressed a hope that "none of [the book's] salutary thoughts, of its bright, wise and philanthropic ideas, [had] been lost in the adaptation,"[24] the addition of the translator's agenda actually resulted in changes of the text's original aim as well as of the intended readership. Whereas Mulock argued for a change in the female individual towards self-dependence, the Swedish translation was adapted in a way that served Leijonhufvud's and her periodical's agenda for the improvement of the situation of women in Swedish society.

En qvinnas tankar rörande qvinnan was printed in Uppsala by newspaper publisher Saia's Edquist, in whose offices *Tidskrift för hemmet* was also printed for the period 1862-1865.[25] The book was widely advertised in the press in December 1861, making this a probable month of publication. The translation was favourably received by the public – a second edition was published already in 1862, and a third one in 1870. Reviews were positive, too, not only with respect to the actual text, but also to its translation under the auspices of *Tidskrift för hemmet*. Alluding to the periodical's name (*Tidskrift för hemmet* means "Periodical for the Home"), the Stockholm daily *Aftonbladet* noted that "this splendid little English book [has] fallen into good hands, that is to say, those belonging to the editors of the truly educational periodical which is being published "for the home."[26] As *Aftonbladet* a few weeks earlier had published a positive review of a recent issue of *Tidskrift för hemmet*,[27] it would appear that the newspaper viewed that fact that Mulock's text had been published by

Leijonhufvud's and Olivecrona's periodical as a guarantor for the quality not only of the British text but also of its Swedish translation.

The Swedish translation contains all Mulock's essays but one. A footnote discloses that Mulock's chapter on "Female Servants" was omitted as the book could not count on being read "*in the kitchen as well as in the parlour*" in Sweden.[28] Although the decision to leave this chapter out was based on assumed different reading habits in the two countries, it may also be interpreted as part of the redirection that the book went through in Leijonhufvud's hands. The footnote declares that it is the translator's wish to submit an adaptation of the missing chapter to *Läsning för folket*, which was a Swedish penny magazine with a broad readership. However, a survey of *Läsning för folket* reveals that, in the period of 1860-1872 at least, Mulock's chapter on servants did not appear in that periodical.

The Implied Author and Implied Reader of the Translated Text

The narratological shifts that a text goes through in the process of translation are of interest for my investigation, especially so as Leijonhufvud combines the act of translating with authoring brief passages of her own. Readers of translations always read representations, or images, of the source text. Lefevere described the alteration that a text undergoes in translation as "refraction," which he defined as "the adaptation of a work of literature to a different audience, with the intention of influencing the way in which that audience reads the work."[29] Later, Lefevere used the term "rewriting" to describe this change or adaptation.[30] Viewing translation as refraction or rewriting involves the understanding that an act of interpretation occurs when the text is transferred from the source language to the target language. When translation is perceived as a kind of rewriting aimed at influencing the target audience's perception of the text, translators therefore emerge not only as mediators through

whom texts are transferred from one language to another, but also as authors in their own right.

In the act of rewriting, translators incorporate their interpretations and agendas as extra layers to the original text. These layers modify the original text, for instance by additions, omissions or replacements. As Schiavi argues, "[a] translation is different from an original text in that it also contains the translator's voice which is in part standing in for the author's and in part autonomous."[31] As the target text consists not only of the source text author's intentions, but also of those of the translator, the translator supplements the source text author as author of the translated text. This is evident in the Swedish translation of Mulock's *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*. For instance, the implied reader of the source text, who is addressed by Mulock (or the implied author) is frequently supplemented by the implied reader addressed by Leijonhufvud in the translated text.

A case in point here is the shift in addressees that takes place as the text moves from English to Swedish. The source text is explicitly directed at "the ordinary middle ranks of unmarried females,"[32] but this phrase was omitted in translation. When the editors of *Tidskrift för hemmet* first introduced their translation of Mulock's book, they put forth that although the British writer directed her thoughts to the large group of unmarried middle-class women, much good advice for wives and mothers, especially regarding their daughters' education, was to be found there too. Therefore, *Tidskrift för hemmet* argued, "[we] believe that we may unconditionally recommend the book to our readers, married as well as unmarried ones."[33] Consequently, in translation, the text is redirected to a wider audience. Whereas the source text specifically addresses English unmarried women, the Swedish translation is directed not at unmarried women, but at *all* women, and, of course, not at English, but at *Swedish*, women.

The source text's opening statement, "I premise that these thoughts do not concern married women,"[34] in translation reads, "[j]ag antar, att de tankar jag här nedskriver egentligen ej,

eller åtminstone blott medelbarligen, angå de gifta qvinnorna"[35] [I assume that the thoughts which I here write down actually do not, or at least only indirectly, concern married women]. The added reservations broaden the intended readership. When the source text again refers to the intended readers as unmarried women – "Of course I refer to the large class for which these Thoughts are meant – the single women"[36] – this is again translated with a reservation: "Jag häntyder naturligtvis här på den talrika klass, för hvilken dessa '*tankar'* egentligen äro afsedda – de ogifta qvinnorna."[37] [Of course I here refer to the large class for which these '*Thoughts*' after all are meant – single women.]" The addition of the hedging "egentligen" [after all / really] not only signals an expanded implied reader, it also distances the translation from the source text. The target text thus not only translates, but also comments on the source text. As will be discussed below, detaching herself from the source text seems to be one of Leijonhufvud's strategies to position herself when she does not altogether embrace Mulock's opinions.

Translators sometimes indicate changes by paratextual notes or comments. Leijonhufvud does this only occasionally. For instance, a few parenthetical comments offer comparisons with Swedish conditions,[38] and a footnote explains why Mulock's chapter on servants was excluded in the translation.[39] However, most of Leijonhufvud's adaptations are not indicated to the reader. On the contrary, they are merged with the source text in a way that conceals the fact that they do not originate in the source text. As a result, Swedish readers would in most cases not be able to identify the changes made to the original text, and could not be aware that the translation now and then attributes to Mulock an agenda that she does not actually put forth.

Two Authorial Voices

Rewriting Mulock's text for a Swedish audience, Leijonhufvud supplemented Mulock's text with a layer consisting of her own agenda and opinions. One strategy used by Leijonhufvud was to expand the target text with examples not indicated as being additions. In a chapter entitled "The mistress of a family," Mulock discusses the responsibilities that the lady of the house has *vis-à-vis* her servants by describing different kinds of mistresses. Many of the examples are translated in a straightforward manner, with only minor adaptations. For instance, British names have been substituted for initials, and some aspects of household matters have been adapted to Swedish conditions. However, in some instances, Leijonhufvud expands Mulock's discussion without indicating this to the Swedish readers. Referring to the discussion about different kinds of mistresses, for instance, Leijonhufvud adds an example, stating: "Som bevis härpå kan jag anföra åtminstone *ett* exempel ur verkligheten. En af mina vänner, en 26-årig husmoder, som nyligen tagit en ung flicka i sin tjenst"[40] [as proof of this I can bring forward at least *one* real-life example. One of my friends, a 26-year-old housewife, who had recently employed a young girl]. The first person singular pronouns "I" and "my" here appear to refer to the implied author of the source text, whereas they in reality reflect the translator's voice as the implied author of the target text. In addition, although the target text alleges that the example comes from real life, this is, of course, not Mulock's Britain, but rather Leijonhufvud's Sweden. Through such interventions, the translator presents a different image of "real life" than the one conveyed by the source text author.

The additions and shifts of authorial identity in the Swedish translation illustrate how the translator uses Mulock's text as a vehicle to promote the situation of Swedish women. Besides redirecting Mulock's text to a more general audience, Leijonhufvud also toned down Mulock's claim that women must be better educated, focussing on the importance of women's access to the labour market. This is seen in the fact that the source text is more critical of

women's behaviour than can be deduced from the translation. Arguing against "the frantic attempt to force women, many of whom are either ignorant of or unequal for their own duties – into the position and duties of men,"[41] Mulock in her opening chapter "Something to Do" employs irony to illustrate how ill-equipped women are for a life of usefulness:

> Who that ever listened for two hours to the verbose confused inanities of a ladies' committee, would immediately go and give his vote for a female House of Commons? or who, on the receipt of a lady's letter of business – I speak of the average – would henceforth desire to have our courts of justice stocked with matronly lawyers [...][42]

As Leijonhufvud's aim was to create change in Sweden, rather than to comment on female ignorance, Mulock's caustic passage has been replaced by an appeal for an expansion of women's opportunities on the labour market:

> Härmed är dock icke sagdt, att det ej finnes ett och annat yrke, en och annan befattning, som med fördel kunde delas dem emellan, att till och med många platser för närvarande innehafvas af män, som bättre passade qvinnan, utan att derför fäder eller bröder rimligen behöfva frukta att ropet om 'qvinnans rättigheter' skall dethronera dem […][43]

> Back translation: This does not mean to say that there are not one or two professions, one or two positions, which could well be divided between [men and women], even that many positions that now are held by men would be better suited for women without there being any real reason for their fathers or brothers to fear that the cry for 'women's rights' should dethrone them […].

Similarly, whereas the source text, when discussing female professions, emphasizes the need for female self-dependence, the Swedish translation again becomes a tool for the translator's agenda for increased employment opportunities possibilities for women. The result of such shifts is that the translator's concern tends to overshadow the argument put forth in the source text.

In her chapter on "Female Handicrafts," for instance, Mulock discusses professions that are open to, or ought to be open to, women. She writes,

> The world is slowly discovering that women are capable of far more crafts than was supposed, if only they are properly educated for them: that, here and abroad, they are good accountants, shopkeepers, drapers' assistants, telegraph clerks, watch-makers: and doubtless would be better, if the ordinary training which almost every young man has a chance of getting, and which in any case he is supposed to have, were thought equally indispensable to young women.[44]

In translation, this passage has been expanded, and, in this case, contrary to previously quoted passages, the translator's voice is distinguishable since a specific reference is made to Sweden:

Verlden har långsamt och småningom börjat upptäcka, att qvinnan är användbar i långt fler yrken än man förr trott, om endast hennes uppfostran ställdes derefter. Man vet att hemma så väl som i utlandet finnas goda bokförerskor, bodföreståndерskor, skrifverskor, urmakerskor och – i trots af alla den Kgl. Svenska telegrafstyrelsens påståenden – skickliga qvinnliga telegrafister, der hvarest denna *ansträngande* och *svårlärda* befattning icke blifvit mannens herkuliska krafter och sokratiska visdom uteslutande förbehållen. Man vet allt detta, och man vet, att qvinnan skulle befinnas ännu skickligare till dessa och dylika yrken, om föräldrar gåfve sina döttrar, likaväl som sina söner, en uppfostran, lämpad efter nödvändigheten att en gång försörja sig sjelfva.[45]

Back translation: The world has slowly and gradually discovered that women are useful in far more crafts than was previously believed, if only they are properly educated for them. It is known that at home as well as abroad there are good accountants, shopkeepers, copyists, watch-makers, and – despite all the assertions of the Royal Swedish Telegraph Company – good women telegraph clerks, where this *cumbersome* and *complicated* position has not been solely reserved for man's Herculian powers and Socratic wisdom. All of this is known, as it is known that women would be found even more capable for this and similar crafts, if parents gave their daughters, as well as their sons, an education that was adapted to the necessity of their having to earn their own bread.

Mulock's list of professions is also somewhat adapted in translation – Mulock's draper's assistants have become copyists – presumably in order to cater for professions that are deemed relevant to Swedish women. However, even though telegraph clerk positions were not yet open for women in Sweden at the time, that profession has not been removed from the list as it helped Leijonhufvud to direct an attack against the Royal Swedish Telegraph Company. In the Swedish parliamentary debate in 1859-1860, voices had been raised in favour of female telegraph workers, as salaries could then be kept low, but there was a strong scepticism both among politicians and within the Telegraph Company regarding women's appropriateness for the profession.[46]

The irony expressed in Leijonhufvud's comment regarding women telegraph clerks bears close textual resemblance to one of her articles in *Tidskrift för hemmet*. In the summer of 1861, the year she translated Mulock's *Thoughts*, Leijonhufvud accompanied Olivecrona and the latter's husband (a professor of Law at Uppsala University) to Britain. In London, they met with the editors of *The English Woman's Journal*, before proceeding to Dublin to attend an annual meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences. Several

articles published later that year in *Tidskrift för hemmet* shed light on this trip and its significance for the future work of Leijonhufvud and Olivecrona. For instance, the issue where the second translated chapter from Mulock's *Thoughts* appeared also included a London traveller's account, signed Esselde (one of Leijonhufvud's signatures).[47]

Leijonhufvud's text opens with an omnibus ride where the narrator overhears her fellow passengers pitying a young seamstress who has fallen asleep next to them, apparently exhausted after long working hours. From this true-to-life account of the deplorable working situation of seamstresses, the narrator proceeds to the Central Telegraph Office in Lothbury, where she receives a guided tour of the premises. By relating her conversation with her guide, in which British and Swedish telegraph companies are compared, Leijonhufvud criticises the conservatism found in Sweden and questions why women in Sweden are not admitted as telegraph clerks, like in England.[48] One explanation she finds is that the British telegraph system is very well-organised, with qualified and specialised staff appointed for different tasks. This was indeed a crucial observation, as one of the reasons that had been put forth in Sweden against the employment of women as telegraph clerks was that they were not suitable to take care of technical problems along the line.[49] In England, Leijonhufvud reported, electricians were employed for such maintenance.[50]

The Translator as Commentator of the Source Text

At times, when Leijonhufuvd appears not to agree with Mulock, she comments on the source text rather than translating it. After having presented her view on the differences between male and female friendships, for instance, Mulock offers some examples of male strong friendships from the Bible and from Classical times, asserting that there are no such female equivalents, not even if the Llangollen ladies are taken into account: "Damon and Pythias, Orestes and Pylades, Brutus and Cassius – last and loveliest, David and Jonathan, are pictures

unmatched by any from our sex, down even to the far-famed ladies of Llangollen."[51] In translation, this passage reads:

Som bevis för denna sats anföras de historiska exemplen af *Damon* och *Pythias*, *Orestes* och *Pylades*, *Brutus* och *Cassius* och sist, men inte minst betydelsefullt, det af *David* och *Jonathan*, och man tillägger att qvinnoslägtets historia icke har några motstycken till dessa trogna vänskapsförbindelser att uppvisa.[52]

Back translation: As proof of this proposition the historical examples of *Damon* and *Pythias*, *Orestes* and *Pylades*, *Brutus* and *Cassius* and last, but not least, that of *David* and *Jonathan*, are being related, and it is being added that women's history shows no counterparts of these faithful friendships.

As this Anglo-Irish female couple, who lived together in Llangollen, Wales for half a century, may not have been known to Leijonhufvud – or at least not to her readers – that reference has been omitted in the translation. More significant, however, is the way in which the translator distances herself from the source text. The verb phrases "anföras" [are being related] and "man tillägger" [it is being added] turn the target text into a comment, rather than a translation, of Mulock's words. What the source text puts forth as the author's opinion is thus reduced to a second-hand reference in the translation. Such additions and comments, where Leijonhufvud steps in and authors parts of the target text, seem to function as a strategy for Leijonhufvud to deal with aspects of Mulocks' writing that she does not agree with herself.

In conclusion, the translation of Mulock's book should be read in the light of the purpose of the translation project. The translator's and the editors' aim was not solely to mediate Mulock's ideas to a Swedish audience, but also to use this British text to convey the periodical's own agenda regarding the position of women in Sweden. Much of Leijonhufvud's rewriting is cleverly woven into the text and thus not disclosed to the reader, and the source text's authorial voice is also supplemented by the voice of the translator/editor.

In translation work, Leijonhufvud found a strategy to present her own thoughts. Her wish to merge "original pieces" with translations, as described by Olivecrona, indicates that she recognized the possibilities of using translation as a political act. By downplaying some aspects of Mulock's *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, such as the author's criticism of

women, by redirecting the text to a wider readership in translation, and by introducing a more general criticism of women's exclusion from the labour market, Leijonhufuvud found a way in which to supplement Mulock's thoughts about women with her own.

Notes

[1] I am grateful for financial support from the Erik Philip-Sörensen Foundation.
[2] Sherry Simon, *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 61, 65.
[3] For a study of the periodical's publication history and its place in the Swedish emancipation movement, see Anna Nordenstam, *Begynnelser: Litteraturforskningens Pionjärkvinnor 1850-1930*. (Eslöv: B. Östlings bokförlag Symposion, 2001).
[4] Cecilia Wadsö Lecaros, "The Swedish Periodical *Tidskrift För Hemmet* and the Woman Question in Sweden in the 1860s," in *Literature, Geography, Translation*, eds. Cecilia Alvstad, Stefan Helgesson and David Watson (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 108-119.
[5] See, for example, Sherry Simon, *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission* and Susanne Stark, "Women and Translation in the Nineteenth Century," *New Comparison* 15 (1993), pp. 33-44.
[6] Sigrid Leijonhufvud, *Sophie Adlersparre, "Esselde": Ett liv och en livsgärning*. Vol. 1 (Stockholm: P. A. Nordstedt och Söners förlag, 1922-23), p. 29.
[7] "själsgåfvor pekade på något högre än det osjälfständiga öfversättningsarbetet […] En af Sophies käraste ungdomsdrömmar hade varit att en gång kunna utgifva en tidskrift för goda öfversättningar […] där möjligen ett och annat själfständigt stycke hemligen kunde insmugglas. Hånet öfver en kvinlig, litterär verksamhet och fruktan för spenamnet 'blåstrumpa' var dock ännu så förhärskande, att hon aldrig vågade att för någon utom den allra närmaste kretsen yppa sådana tankar." Rosalie Olivecrona, "S. L-D Adlersparre in Memoriam: Utvecklingsår – Samarbete," *Dagny* no. 6 (1895). pp. 232, 235. Translation mine. Unless otherwise indicated all subsequent translations from Swedish are mine.
[8] Per Ledin, *"Med det nyttiga skola wi söka att förena det angenäma…": Text, bild och språklig stil i veckopressens föregångare* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2001), pp. 12-16, <https://www.studentlitteratur.se/files/sites/svensksakprosa/Ledin_rapp14.pdf>. Website consulted July 2, 2012.
[9] Sten Torgerson, *Översättningar till svenska av skönlitterär prosa 1866-1870, 1896-1900, 1926-1930* (Göteborg: Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen vid Göteborgs universitet, 1982), pp. 50-51.
[10] Lars Wollin, "The Language of 19th and 20th Century Translations I: Swedish," in *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages, Vol. 2*, ed. Oskar Bandle (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), p. 1506.
[11] William B. Todd and Ann Bowden, *Tauchnitz International Editions in English, 1841-1955: A Bibliographical History* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1988), pp. 1035-1036.
[12] Elaine Showalter, ed., *Christina Rossetti: Maude. Dinah Mulock Craik: On Sisterhoods; A Woman's Thoughts about Women* (London: Pickering, 1993), p. xxiii.
[13] Sally Mitchell, *Dinah Mulock Craik* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), p. 108.

[14] John Sutherland, *The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction* (Burnt Mill: Longman, 1990), p. 112.
[15] Troy J. Bassett, *At the Circulating Library: A Database of Victorian Fiction, 1837–1901* (Victorian Research Web, 2007-2011), http://www.victoriansresearch.org/atcl/. Website consulted July 2, 2012.
[16] B. Q. Schmidt, "Hurst and Blackett," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography. Vol. 106, British Literary Publishing Houses, 1820-1880*, eds. Patricia J. Anderson and Jonathan Rose (Detroit, Mich.: Gale Research Inc., 1991), p. 157.
[17] Samuel Austen Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased, from the Earliest Accounts to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century. Containing Thirty Thousand Biographies and Literary Notices, with Forty Indexes of Subjects, Vol. 2* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1870), p. 1386.
[18] L-d., "Lyckliga och olyckliga qvinnor, bearbetning från Engelskan af *L-d*," *Tidskrift för hemmet*, no. 2 (1860), pp. 99-112.
[19] L-d., "En Qvinnas Tankar Rörande Qvinnan (Anmälan)," *Tidskrift för hemmet*, no. 2 (1860), p. 98.
[20] L-d., "Verldsdamen," *Tidskrift för hemmet*, no. 3 (1861), p. 175.
[21] L-d., "En Qvinnas Tankar Rörande Qvinnan (Anmälan)," p. 97.
[22] L-d., "Verldsdamen," p. 174.
[23] L-d., "En Qvinnas Tankar Rörande Qvinnan (Anmälan)," p. 97; L-d., "Qvinnan och välgörandet," *Tidskrift för hemmet*, no. 1 (1861), p. 13.
[24] "ingen af [bokens] kärnfriska tankar, af dess ljusa, kloka och menniskoälskande idéer, vid bearbetningen gått förlorad." L-d., "En Qvinnas Tankar Rörande Qvinnan (Anmälan)," p. 98.
[25] Bernard Lundstedt, *Sveriges periodiska litteratur: Bibliografi över svenska periodiska publikationer 1645-1899* (Stockholm, 1895-1902), 2:337. <http://www.kb.se/samlingarna/tidningar-tidskrifter/soka/Sveriges-periodiska-litteratur/>. Website consulted July 2, 2012.
[26] Anon., Review of *En Qvinnas Tankar Rörande Qvinnan*, *Aftonbladet* (December 21, 1861), p. 2.
[27] Anon.,"Litteratur-tidning," *Aftonbladet* (November 30, 1861), p. 3.
[28] "*såväl i köket som i salongen*." Dinah Mulock, *En qvinnas tankar rörande qvinnan*, Trans. Sophie Leijonhufvud (Uppsala: *Tidskrift för hemmet*, 1861), p. 46.
[29] André Lefevere, "Mother Courage's Cucumbers: Text, System and Refraction in a Theory of Literature" (1982), reprinted in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), p. 241.
[30] André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 1992).
[31] Giuliana Schiavi, "There Is Always a Teller in a Tale," *Target: International Journal of Translation Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1996), p. 3.
[32] Dinah Mulock, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women* (1858) (London: Hurst and Blackett, n.d.), p. 288.
[33] "Vi tro oss således obetingadt kunna rekommendera boken till alla våra läsarinnor, de gifta så väl som de ogifta." L-d., "En Qvinnas Tankar Rörande Qvinnan (Anmälan)," p. 98.
[34] Dinah Mulock, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, p. 1.
[35] Dinah Mulock, *En qvinnas tankar rörande qvinnan*, p. 1.
[36] Dinah Mulock, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, p. 24.
[37] Dinah Mulock, *En qvinnas tankar rörande qvinnan*, p. 12.
[38] Dinah Mulock, *En qvinnas tankar rörande qvinnan*, pp. 36, 47.
[39] Dinah Mulock, *En qvinnas tankar rörande qvinnan*, p. 46.

[40] Dinah Mulock, *En qvinnas tankar rörande qvinnan*, p. 61.
[41] Dinah Mulock, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, p. 5.
[42] Dinah Mulock, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, pp. 5-6.
[43] Dinah Mulock, *En qvinnas tankar rörande qvinnan*, p. 3.
[44] Dinah Mulock, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, pp. 78-79.
[45] Dinah Mulock, *En qvinnas tankar rörande qvinnan*, pp. 42-43.
[46] Christina Mårtensson, *Tjänstebefattning som kan för henne vara passande: Uppkomst och utveckling av könsbundna befattningar vid Telegrafverket 1865-1920* (Göteborg: Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen, Univ.; 1999), pp. 60-66.
[47] Esselde, "En omnibusfärd och ett morgonbesök i London," *Tidskrift för hemmet*, no. 3 (1861), pp. 246-254.
[48] Esselde, "En omnibusfärd och ett morgonbesök i London," p. 253.
[49] Christina Mårtensson, *Tjänstebefattning som kan för henne vara passande: Uppkomst och utveckling av könsbundna befattningar vid Telegrafverket 1865-1920*, p. 62.
[50] Esselde, "En omnibusfärd och ett morgonbesök i London," p. 253.
[51] Dinah Mulock, *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, pp. 166-167.
[52] Dinah Mulock, *En qvinnas tankar rörande qvinnan*, pp. 71-72.

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